The Impact of

Modernization

in

The Phillippines

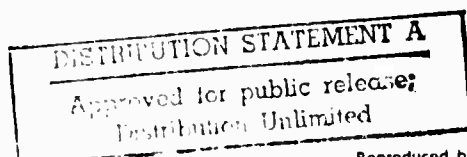George M. Guthrie

The Pennsylvania State University

Final Technical Report

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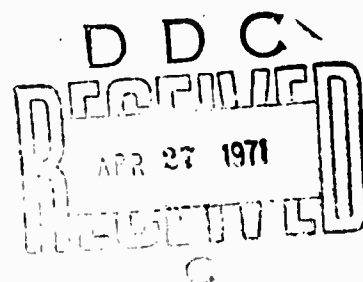

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Like the typhoons that roar in from the Pacific, the twentieth
century has swept into the Philippines. During the past decade
transistor radios, television and jet aircraft have come, moving
ideas and people to previously inaccessible spots at speeds that
were never possible before. Modernization refers to the widespread
changes that follow the storm of change, changes which include a
greater awareness of the stark contrasts in living standards; new
ideas from alien settings; and the material items of improved roads,
schools and nascent industries. A typhoon blows down the flimsy
houses and twists those made of firm materials. The people build
the thatched houses again, and patch up the heavier structures,
and wait for the next storm. Much the same happens to ways of life
when new ideas or new processes / new manufactured items arrive.

In the Philippines, as in other developing countries, more than
three quarters of the people live in rural areas. Almost all of them
are more or less directly concerned with producing and marketing food.
With a very high birth rate, there are many children which means, in
turn, many schools and many non-productive members in the society.
The population is growing at more than 3.5 per cent per year, while
the supply of food and other goods is barely keeping pace. Many people,
especially in the rural areas, have less now than they did before
World War II. They are aware of the increasing discrepancy between
their condition and that of others in Manila and abroad. Their
reaction is to seek education for their children so that the next
generation can move to the city and escape the poverty, boredom, and
despair of the overcrowded countryside. When they move, the rural
people often become squatters, throwing up a house of light materials
on unused public or private land. Those who remain have developed
a way of living with one another, sharing their shortages so that
no one starves but few prosper. Like millions the world over they
continue to hope and to work although they are becoming increasingly
skeptical of promises and cynical about the professed concerns of
government officials.

This research program was concerned for the most part with the
social psychological aspects of the impact of modernization. Each
principal participant was given a good deal of autonomy so that each
study stands by itself. In the summary which follows we will try to
outline the total picture which emerges.

With Penn State as prime contractor and with participants from
a half dozen other American universities, the data collection was
carried out at Ateneo de Manila University in the Philippines. The
subcontract with Ateneo made provision for facilities and assistants

and for research efforts directed by Ateneo social scientists as well. The results have been published in an Ateneo paper series, a mechanism which makes results available to both Americans and Filipinos.

This was in every sense a joint American-Filipino effort with superb cooperation on the part of both Ateneo and Penn State. In each study which follows a plan was developed, examined and approved by a bi-national committee, and data were collected with the assistance of Filipino social science graduate students. While several of the American participants spoke a Philippine dialect, the Filipino assistants were of invaluable assistance not only in collecting data but in interpreting results and in identifying problems associated with the subtleties of translation. The experience which they gained contributed to their own development as Filipino scholars.

What follows is only a small portion of our findings; more complete accounts are listed at the end of this report.

Attitudes, Values and Thought Patterns

Since modernizing processes begin in the city and radiate out to the countryside, Guthrie (14) selected four towns 50, 100, 200 and 400 kilometers from Manila and studied differences in outlook with respect to education, scientific as opposed to traditional beliefs, family obligations, planning for the future, and dependence on politicians. No differences were found associated with distance from the city, nor were there differences between men and women. Although the wealthier and better educated were consistently more modern than tenants and other poor groups, a majority of all groups, rich and poor, tended to express modern outlooks. All of the well-to-do and a majority of even the poorest respondents aspired to a college education for their children.

In spite of widespread poverty, a college education is possible for poor but ambitious Filipinos. With low tuition fees and a tradition of helping one's family and relatives, Filipinos have built large college enrolments so that the percentage of people in college is higher than that of most developed countries. Economic progress of individual rural families is not delayed by lack of education but rather by a pattern of leveling in which anyone who has a surplus is expected to share it. Furthermore, anyone who seeks to increase his possessions is constantly called upon to prove that he is not proud nor is he trying to be superior to others. Removed from the setting of the village to Manila or to foreign employment, the rural Filipino can show as much resourcefulness and initiative as members of industrial societies. Furthermore government programs and the holders of public office often function in a way to maintain dependence and stifle innovations. Underdevelopment does not lie in the character or the abilities of the people but rather in the social organization of the community.

In a second study, Guthrie (8) found that there is a strong drive for power among Filipinos, a pattern of motives which is obscured by

more apparent self-effacement and modesty. In working with peers there is a great emphasis on <u>pakikisama</u> or skill in human relationships. Filipinos go to considerable lengths to avoid giving the impression that they feel superior to others or are proud. Feelings toward superiors can be quite ambivalent; on the one hand an employee can feel quite inferior and dependent, on the other hand he can resent control or any expression of higher status on the part of supervisors. Such patterns contribute in part to a lowering of quality of workmanship and low productivity in spite of a large number of employees.

High school seniors show most clearly the high aspirations and high drive to achieve which characterize the responses of rural Filipinos. There were no systematic differences associated with distance from Manila in Licuanan's study (30), but women reported higher aspirations and achievement motives than men and the children of wealthier parents were higher than those from poor homes. The emphasis on college preparation is not closely related to the country's needs. Teacher training is the most common choice because it offers a prospect of employment, medical and related fields are popular because they open the opportunity to go abroad. While agriculture and science graduates are needed by a developing country, the Philippines, in fact, offers limited opportunities to those with technical training. This factor, plus low status implications, keeps enrolments low in schools of arts and trades.

In a series of studies of the formation and functioning of groups, Hare (11,15,21) found that research techniques and theories developed in the United States were applicable in the Philippines. A regional development planning board (21) passed through predicted phases in which activities moved from the problem of defining who was who in the group, to the establishment of operating procedures which are understood by the participants,before it could begin to carry out its purposes. In the process uniquely Philippine considerations intervened in the form of intense political power plays. There was, in addition, an acute shortage of funds to maintain the small administrative structure of the board. In short, the content of many stages was different from those observed in other countries, but the stages had identifiable similar elements. The importance of this lies in the fact that Americans need to learn to recognize the dynamics of organizations in other cultures, in this case the Philippines.

In an experimental setting Hare (15) studied communication patterns in groups of five subjects under different rules of who may communicate with whom. Efficiency, in terms cf solving problems quickly, fell off in a situation where there was no designated leader or coordinator. This would appear to be related to the power and good relations considerations mentioned above.

In a study of the developing structure of a newly formed group of rice specialists at the International Rice Research Institute, Hare and Franck (29) found a struggle for power and a challenging of expertise after an initial period of hospitality and good spirits. This has been observed in studies of the evolution of small groups in the United States; it becomes important in the Philippines because it endangers the success and continuity of the group if ways are not found to resolve the conflicts which arise.

In a series of studies (5, 10, 16) Rachel Hare examined the development of autonomy in Filipino children, finding that there was an increase in autonomy as they were exposed to varying degrees of modernizing influences. In a related study of modernization and behavior patterns, Susan Bennett (32) is completing an examination of some of the antecedents of creativity in Filipino children.

Social Organization

One facet of social organization is the pattern of obligation which one feels toward others. An opportunity to observe the behavior which follows from the feeling of responsibility for others occurs in times of disaster. Scarcely a month after he arrived in the Philippines and just as he had his questionnaires ready to study the response of citizens to a previous year's typhoon, an earthquake struck Manila collapsing an apartment building with a great loss of life. Sechrest (27). Comparing the response to the disaster to the response to large fires, typhoons and floods, Sechrest concluded that arousal or excitement played a major role. In addition, those who offered help were those who had a surplus of time. Drawing on these findings, Sechrest designed a ser as of studies of the effectiveness of various appeals for blood doning. The notion that one has a surplus of blood prompted more contributors than did altruistic appeals or the appeal that the donor could get blood if he had an emergency himself.

These studies make clear some of the dimensions of change of behavior which are probably necessary for Philippine society to function with the technology of modernization. Observations in the Philippines and recent experimental research in the Unites States suggest that more use could be made of models by mass media and movies to prompt the acquisition of behavior patterns more conducive to promoting the gains which modernization offers. Newspapers and movies need to give more attention to successful, desirable patterns and less to profitable corruption and unproductive violence. The latter, unfortunately, is available in great supply in American movies.

Political Organization

As many as one half of the people in the cities of some developing countries are squatters. Rural Filipinos who move to Manila and other towns and cities build their homes on unused land, pay little or no taxes, overload the schools and public utilities and present severe problems of public health. Stone's studies (2,9,31) dispel several beliefs: squatters are not criminals, squatter areas are probably as safe as other parts of the city, squatters are not embittered groups of discontented people living beyond the control of the law. Acting on the indigenous belief that unused property belongs to those who use it while they are using it, squatters have used public and private land, expressing their right to live and their right to the private transitory ownership of unused land. Living in squatter areas because they cannot afford better housing, the residents develop working relationships with powerful politicians who trade protection for support.

Acting on similar premises, the police feel that they own
the right to exploit their beat. Prompted by low salaries, individual
policemen and their superiors extract tong or rent from taxis and buses
for the privilege of using the streets they patrol. In both cases,
Stone shows the notion of private transitory ownership leading to
behavior which would be considered illegal in a society where there
is a more developed sense of public property and public responsibility.
These considerations should lead us to reinterpret much behavior which
is often labelled corrupt. Whatever it may be called, it is economically
dysfunctional. The concept of transitory ownership leads, however,
to different remedial measures than does the epithet corrupt.

Economic Development

Located near some of the best fishing grounds in the Philippines,
Estancia, Iloilo has shown a population growth and increasing catch
over the past half century. Szanton (3,4,19) found that, in response
to sound economic considerations, operators of fishing boats have
made five major changes in their boats and in techniques of taking
fish, but the rank and file of fishermen have not improved their
condition in any appreciable sense. The fishermen sell part of the
catch to small traders who meet them at sea and the owner in turn
provides only a small income for his crew. The owners are at the
mercy of wholesalers in Manila who determine prices after they have
received the shipments of dried fish from Estancia. At every level
there is a lack of trust and an inability of individuals with common
interests, both operators and boat crews, to join together to work
for a higher share or a more efficient operation. The fishermen continue
in a state of getting by only from one day to the next, relying on
the owner for help in crises.

A similar set of relationships prevail in the rice and sugar
areas adjacent to Estancia. Landowners providing protection and
help in crises to the tenants who, in turn, support the landlord's
political schemes. There is an increasing estrangement as owners
spend more time living in the city and turn over farm administration
to overseers. New technologies in sugar and new varieties of rice
apparently have not improved the lot of the tenant. What shows up
on charts as increased productivity may do little to raise the
standard of living of the vast majority. On the contrary, it may
set the stage for change by violence.

In contrast to fishermen or tenants who are very dependent on
their employer, market vendors who work for themselves are dependent
on one another. Cristina Szanton (24) found that fish and vegetable
vendors felt compelled to share their sales with other vendors so that,
while little profit was possible, each vendor made just enough to
buy the next day's supplies. These are business people with working
capital of one to five dollars, earning fifty cents for a day's work.
Vendors are keenly aware of supply and demand where prices fluctuate
in the course of a morning and where bargaining for price or quantity
is expected with almost every sale. Furthermore, with no refrigeration
to protect from the tropical heat, a vendor must sell her goods

each morning before it spoils and before housewives leave the market to prepare the noon meal. Subsistence marketing, as she calls it, is determined by the fact that there is little money available for larger stocks or larger purchases and also by the patterns of mutual support which keep everyone extremely poor, but also affirm each individual's right to live.

Related closely to marketing activities are the diets of rural Filipinos. Nineteen families of Estancia fishermen kept records of all expenditures for two weeks. In an analysis of their food purchases Helen Guthrie (13) found that, while their diets were relatively adequate in calories and protein, they were deficient in vitamins C and A, riboflavin and calcium. The vegetables and fruit which would overcome some of these deficiencies could be produced by the people themselves except that house lots are extremely small, pigs are permitted to wander freely and gardens and fruit trees are difficult to protect from neighbors who help themselves to the crop. Diets in other communities were also seriousiy deficient (17, 25). There is some evidence that intellectual development may even be impaired due to severe deficiencies during the critical Interval after weaning at the age of one year (20). Poor nutrition is a serious problem in the Philippines, predisposing to more frequent and serious infections and reducing the energy available for work.

Work in Progress

Lynch and Himes (1,7,28) are examining changes in linguistic styles and changes in thought categories as a function of exposure to modernizing urban influences. Special attention is being given to ideas about disease and about causality. Alfred Bennet (34) is studying entrepreneurial behavior among Filipino businessmen in Filipino- and Western-controlled companies. Fay (33) is concerned with role behavior associated with sex differences. This is important because women play an unusually large role in the direction of Filipino companies. These and other papers will appear within the coming year and copies will be forwarded as they become available.

Concluding Remarks

Modernization is a complex process involving the growth of cities, industries, and road networks; the construction of schools and hospitals; and the Introduction of non-human sources of power. Its great appeal lies in its promise of more goods and better services. While many elements of modernization are appearing in the Philippines few of the benefits except education are going to the vast majority of citizens who are poor. The habits and attitudes of a subsistence style of life,with its characteristic systems of controls, obligations and expectations, function in a way to limit total productivity and to distort the distribution of what is available. Filipino rural people are part of a vertically organized social structure in which individuals are in relationships of strong obligation to those above them and in competition with their peers. Under these

circumstances those who can offer employment are in a uniquely powerful political position because they control blocs of voters. Modernization of the social structure, which has only begun, will require habits of cooperation among peers. Only then will the tenant be able to forsake his subservience because he will have less need for his patron's support.

It is our hope that we have contributed to an understanding of modernization in the Philippines and that our findings will be useful to American and Philippine government officials who are dedicatcd to Philippine progress.

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Publications from this Project

Technical Report Number 1
1. Lynch, F. and Himes, R.S. Cognitive Mapping in the Tagalog area. Pp. 9-52.
2. Stone, R.L. Private Transitory Ownership of Public Property: one key to understanding public behavior: I--the driving game. Pp. 53-63.
3. Szanton, D.L. Estancia, Iloilo: town in transition. Pp. 64-86.

Technical Report Number 2
4. Szanton, D.L. The Fishing Industry of Estancia, Iloilo. Pp. 4-34.
5. Hare, R.T. Cultural Differences in the Use of Guilt and Shame in Child Rearing: a review of the research on the Philippines and other non-Western societies. Pp. 35-76.
6. Midlarsky, E. The Antecedents and Correlates of Aiding Responses a review of the literature. Pp. 77-124.
7. Himes, R. Cognitive Mapping in the Tagalog Area (II). Pp. 125-168.

Technical Report Number 3
8. Guthrie, G.M. and Azores, F.M. Philippine Interpersonal Behavior Patterns. Pp. 3-63.
9. Stone, R.L. and Marsella, J. Mahirap: A Squatter Community in a Manila Suburb. Pp. 64-91.
10. Hare,A.P.and Hare, R.T. Social Correlates of Autonomy among University Students in the Philippines, United States and Africa. Pp. 92-104.
11. Hare, A.P. and Peabody, D. Attitude Content and Agreement Set in the Autonomy Scale for Filipino, American, and African University Students. Pp. 105-113.
12. Peabody, D. Group Judgments in the Philippines: Their Evaluative Descriptive Aspects. Pp. 114-128.
13. Guthrie, H. Nutrition in a Philippine Fishing Community. Pp. 129-147.

Technical Report Number 4
14. Bruton, V.P. New Movement in the Catholic Church: A Study of the Cursillo. Pp. 1-23.
15. Hare, A.P. Cultural Differences in Performance in Communication Networks among Filipino, African, and American Students. Pp. 24-45.
16. Hare, R.T. Autonomy, Dependency, and Problem Solving in Filipino Children. Pp. 46-59.
17. Guthrie, H.A. Infant and Maternal Nutrition in Four Tagalog Communities. Pp. 60-91.

Technical Report Number 5
18. Guthrie, G.M. The Psychology of Modernization in the Rural Philippines.

Technical Report Number 6
19. Szanton, D.L. The Pattern of Economic Growth in a Rural Philippine Community. (Completed; ready for reproduction.)
20. Guthrie, H.A., Guthrie, G.M. and Tayag, A. Nutritional Status and Intellectual Performance in a Rural Philippine Community. Philippine Journal of Psychology 1968, 1, 28-34. (Reprinted in Philippine Journal of Nutrition).

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23. Guthrie, G.M. Psychological Factors and Preferred Family Size. Saint Louis Quarterly (Philippines) 1968, 6, 391-398.
24. Szanton, M.C. Subsistence Marketing Patterns. (In preparation.)
25. Guthrie, H.A. and Stone, R.L. Dietary Practices of Young Adult Women in Manila. Philippine Journal of Nutrition (In press).
26. Guthrie, G.M. Six Perspectives on the Philippines. Manila, Bookmark, 1968.
27. Sechrest,L. The Aiding Response in the Philippines. (In preparation).
28. Lynch, F. Studies of Filipino Cognitive Mapping. (In preparation).
29. Hare, A.P. and Franck, B.M. Social Dyramics of a Multinational Rice Specialists Group at IRRI, (In preparation).
30. Licuanan, P. The Effect of Modernization on Reference Groups and Aspirations. (In preparation).
31. Stone, R.L. The Private Transitory Ownership of Public Property: The Police. (to be published).
32. Bennett, S.M. Creativit bin Filipino School Children. (In preparaticn).
33. Fay, T.L. Modernization and Changing Sex Roles. (In preparation).
34. Bennett,A.B. Traditional and Modern Managers. (In preparation).

The papers listed in preparation above should be completed by June 1970.

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13. ABSTRACT

This report gives a brief summary of the findings of some 34 individual papers which had come from this project as of the and of the contract period. It includes also a brief summary of the collaborative effort between Penn State and Ateneo de Manila University in carrying out and publishing these various papers.

Major findings include pervasive social patterns of leveling which tend to diminish the benefit to individuals of innovative efforts but, at the same time, spread the risk of losses. The traditional way of life is maintained because it offers more security than ways which might be considered more modern. These general patterns emerged strongly in studies of farmers, fishermen and market vendors. It was suggested that the application of the concepts used by those influenced by Skinner would lead to a careful examination of reinforcement contingencies in order to understand resistance to change and that change came quickly in many instances where changes were reinforced.

Other studies were concerned with nutritional status in rural areas and with factors which maintained a level of nutrition in whcih growth and resistance to infection were adversely affected. Still other studies were concerned with the persistence of traditional patterns in social organization of government structures, particulary the police. The applicability of sophisticated sociological analysis of group processes was demonstrated.

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